

1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1006 adults
Dates: April 17-19, 1999

48 Male
52 Female
[109]

FINAL

Study #4097
NBC/Wall Street Journal
April 1999

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

1. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>2/91+</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/92+</u>	
Right direction.....	46	54	49	47	55	51	45	45	50	53	65	14	[138]
Wrong track.....	40	33	38	38	31	35	39	39	35	32	22	71	
Mixed (VOL).....	11	10	10	12	12	11	13	13	12	12	9	9	
Not sure.....	3	3	3	3	2	3	3	3	3	3	4	6	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 2a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>1/99</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>10/98+</u>	<u>6/93</u>	
Approve.....	58	66	68	65	68	66	64	63	66	66	68	68	41	[139]
Disapprove.....	36	31	29	31	29	31	30	30	29	28	29	29	50	
Not sure.....	6	3	3	4	3	3	6	7	5	6	3	3	9	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 2b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?

	<u>4/99*</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>1/99</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>7/93</u>	<u>9/94</u>	
Approve.....	73	74	78	72	74	75	69	70	76	76	78	40	40	[140]
Disapprove.....	18	20	17	21	21	19	23	22	16	17	17	51	51	
Not sure.....	9	6	5	7	5	6	8	8	8	7	5	9	9	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 2c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?

	<u>4/99**</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>10/98+</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>9/94</u>	
Approve.....	50	60	65	61	70	63	58	53	63	61	70	32	[141]
Disapprove.....	41	31	28	30	26	29	31	36	27	31	26	60	
Not sure.....	9	9	7	9	4	8	11	11	10	8	4	8	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).
+ Asked only of registered voters.

2d. Which do you think is the more important set of issues facing the country today--the economy and domestic issues or the war in Kosovo and international issues?

The economy and domestic issues.....	44	[142]
The war in Kosovo and international issues.....	44	
Both equally important (VOL).....	10	
Not sure.....	2	

3. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
Bill Clinton							[143]
April 1999.....	23	23	14	13	26	1	
March 1999.....	23	25	14	11	27	-	
January 1999.....	27	24	12	11	25	1	
December 1998.....	25	26	13	10	26	-	
October 1998+.....	25	26	10	12	26	1	
September 1998.....	18	22	17	14	29	-	
July 1998.....	24	26	17	15	18	-	
June 1998.....	24	30	14	12	20	-	
April 1998.....	27	29	13	11	19	1	
April 2, 1998.....	23	21	20	13	22	1	
February 1998.....	29	28	14	12	17	-	
January 17-19, 1998.....	21	36	15	13	15	-	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
<i>Low</i>							
September 1998.....	18	22	17	14	29	-	
Al Gore							[144]
April 1999 *.....	11	24	30	14	17	4	
March 1999.....	16	23	29	16	14	2	
January 1999.....	17	24	29	15	12	3	
December 1998.....	17	25	27	13	15	3	
September 1998.....	16	25	32	12	13	2	
July 1998.....	16	26	31	12	13	2	
June 1998.....	18	26	31	10	13	2	
April 1998.....	16	29	29	12	11	3	
February 1998.....	18	29	27	12	11	3	
January 1998.....	13	26	29	16	12	4	
<i>High</i>							
January 1993.....	23	32	22	9	6	8	
<i>Low</i>							
December 1997.....	13	23	28	14	18	4	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Q.3 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
Madeleine Albright							[145]
April 1999 *.....	23	25	23	9	8	12	
March 1997.....	19	24	20	4	2	31	
John McCain							[146]
April 1999 *.....	8	14	18	3	3	54	
George W. Bush							[147]
April 1999 *.....	23	32	25	8	6	6	
March 1999.....	25	26	28	5	5	11	
December 1998.....	25	28	27	5	4	11	
Hillary Rodham Clinton							[148]
April 1999 *.....	30	19	17	12	20	2	
March 1999.....	35	19	16	11	18	1	
January 1999.....	35	23	16	11	14	1	
December 1998.....	33	21	17	11	17	1	
October 1998+.....	32	24	15	12	16	1	
September 1998.....	29	21	20	12	18	-	
July 1998.....	22	24	25	13	14	2	
June 1998.....	26	22	21	11	19	1	
April 1998.....	26	25	19	13	16	1	
February 1998.....	27	25	19	11	17	1	
January 17-19, 1998.....	20	25	21	16	16	2	
<i>High</i>							
January 1999.....	35	23	16	11	14	1	
<i>Low</i>							
May 1996+.....	14	20	19	17	27	3	
William Cohen							[149]
April 1999 **.....	11	18	25	6	3	37	
Dan Quayle							[150]
April 1999 **.....	8	15	28	20	25	4	
September 1997.....	8	21	29	19	17	6	
March 1996.....	8	19	32	17	19	5	
October 1994.....	9	21	26	19	22	3	
May 1994.....	9	19	31	19	15	7	
October 1993.....	8	16	28	20	24	4	
June 1993.....	7	19	26	20	24	4	
<i>High</i>							
October 1991.....	10	25	28	15	18	4	
<i>Low</i>							
May 1992.....	5	18	28	21	23	5	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Q.3 (cont'd)

	Very Positive	Somewhat Positive	Neutral	Somewhat Negative	Very Negative	Don't Know Name/ Not Sure	
Bill Bradley							[151]
April 1999 **.....	8	20	27	5	2	38	
March 1999.....	11	19	26	5	1	38	
September 1995.....	7	17	22	7	1	46	
NATO, the security alliance between the U.S. and Europe							[152]
April 1999 **.....	18	35	24	11	6	6	
Elizabeth Dole							[153]
April 1999 **.....	19	28	26	10	9	8	
March 1999.....	26	30	28	6	4	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

4a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>High</u> <u>9/98</u>	<u>Low</u> <u>10/90+</u>	
Approve.....	49	41	50	44	48	61	53	48	51	57	61	22	[154]
Disapprove.....	38	45	40	42	39	28	31	37	34	29	28	69	
Not sure.....	13	14	10	14	13	11	16	15	15	14	11	9	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

4b. What is your preference for the outcome of the November 2000¹ congressional elections--a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>2/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	
Republican-controlled Congress. .	41	37	41	40	41	39	37	41	40	[155]
Democrat-controlled Congress.....	40	43	43	39	40	40	41	37	42	
Not sure ²	19	20	16	21	19	21	22	22	18	
			<u>12/97</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	<u>1/96</u>	<u>12/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	
			41	41	45	44	41	42	44	
			37	39	39	38	38	41	38	
			22	20	16	18	21	17	18	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

¹ In October 1994, the question referred to the 1994 congressional elections; the 1995 and 1996 survey dates referred to the 1996 congressional elections; the 1997 and 1998 dates refer to the 1998 congressional elections.

² The volunteered responses "both equal," "neither in control," or "doesn't matter," were reported separately; for purposes of comparative they are combined with "not sure."

4c. When it comes to dealing with **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither?

	<u>Party Advantage</u>	<u>Democratic Party</u>	<u>Republican Party</u>	<u>Both About The Same</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Dealing with Social Security							[156]
April 1999.....	D-12	35	23	24	12	6	
March 1999.....	D-18	39	21	23	11	6	
October 1998 +.....	D-23	44	21	25	6	4	
September 1998.....	D-16	37	21	25	13	4	
July 1998.....	D-9	28	19	34	14	5	
January 1998.....	D-11	26	15	34	18	7	
September 1997.....	D-14	33	19	18	22	8	
October 1996.....	D-12	36	24	17	15	8	
December 1995.....	D-22	44	22	14	14	6	
June 1995.....	D-9	35	26	16	15	8	
November 1994.....	D-5	32	27	15	16	10	
Dealing with Medicare							[157]
April 1999.....	D-17	37	20	24	13	6	
March 1999.....	D-23	41	18	23	10	8	
September 1997.....	D-18	34	16	25	20	5	
October 1996.....	D-14	34	20	24	16	6	
May 1996+.....	D-19	45	26	12	11	6	
December 1995.....	D-20	44	24	13	13	6	
June 1995.....	D-11	33	22	18	19	8	
Dealing with foreign policy							[158]
April 1999.....	R-15	19	34	31	8	8	
March 1999.....	R-5	25	30	31	6	8	
September 1998.....	R-10	23	33	34	6	4	
October 1994.....	R-19	15	34	34	12	5	
October 1993.....	R-27	10	37	11	39	3	
July 1992+.....	R-33	15	48	24	7	6	
Dealing with education							[159]
April 1999.....	D-12	35	23	28	8	6	
March 1999.....	D-14	37	23	27	9	4	
October 1998 +.....	D-19	40	21	28	7	4	
September 1998.....	D-16	38	22	29	8	3	
September 1997.....	D-20	40	20	22	12	6	
October 1996.....	D-23	46	23	14	9	8	
May 1996+.....	D-16	40	24	19	12	5	
December 1995.....	D-10	35	25	19	14	7	
June 1995.....	D-9	35	26	21	11	7	
October 1994.....	D-13	34	21	24	15	6	
October 1993.....	D-8	32	24	16	24	4	
July 1992+.....	D-25	42	17	25	12	4	
October 1991+.....	D-14	28	14	33	18	7	
October 1990+.....	D-18	33	15	30	14	8	
November 1989+.....	D-15	30	15	32	15	8	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

5. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? **(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:)** Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF NOT SURE, CODE AS "NOT**

VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.") (IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	18		[160]
Not very strong Democrat.....	10	Skip to Q.7	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	10		
Strictly independent.....	23	Skip to Q.8	
Independent/lean Republican.....	7		
Not very strong Republican.....	11	CONTINUE	
Strong Republican.....	14		
Other.....	5	Skip to Q.8	
Not sure/nothing.....	2		

(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS IN Q.5.)

6a. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the Republican nomination for president in the year 2000. If you were voting today in the next Republican primary for president, which one of the following candidates would you vote for? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>6/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	[161-162]
George W. Bush.....	48	53	36	52	41	34	40	26	24	20	24	
Elizabeth Dole.....	19	18	26	11	10	18	NA	14	14	15	16	
Steve Forbes.....	6	6	4	6	7	7	11	10	11	7	8	
John McCain.....	6	2	5	NA	NA	NA	5	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Pat Buchanan.....	5	4	4	4	4	NA	4	6	4	4	6	
Dan Quayle.....	4	7	8	7	8	9	14	6	7	10	9	
John Kasich.....	2	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2	NA	NA	
Gary Bauer.....	1	2	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Lamar Alexander.....	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	4	2	5	3	
None/other (VOL).....	2	1	1	4	7	6	8	-	9	13	8	
Not sure.....	6	4	7	7	5	9	10	13	9	7	9	

NOTE: An "NA" indicates that the person was not included in the list of potential candidates for that particular survey. Potential candidates who do not appear on the current list but were included previously and received less than 5% of the vote are included in the percentage for "none/other."

(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS IN Q.5.)

6b. Let me read you this list again of people who might seek the Republican nomination for president in the year 2000. Please tell me which of these candidates, if any, you would NOT support under any circumstance? **(ACCEPT AS MANY AS APPLY.)**

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Pat Buchanan.....	33	[163-164]
Dan Quayle.....	19	>
Lamar Alexander.....	10	
Elizabeth Dole.....	10	
Steve Forbes.....	10	
Gary Bauer.....	6	Skip to Q.8
George W. Bush.....	4	
John Kasich.....	3	
John McCain.....	3	
None/other (VOL).....	10	
Not sure.....	17	

(ASK ONLY OF DEMOCRATS IN Q.5.)

7. The candidates in the Democratic primary are Bill Bradley and Al Gore. For whom would you vote if the election were held today--Bill Bradley or Al Gore? **(IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>1/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>7/97</u>	<u>4/97</u>	[165]
Bill Bradley.....	23	20	13	12	12	14	13	11	9	

Al Gore.....	62	65	45	49	51	45	47	52	56
Neither/other (VOL).....	5	5	6	7	4	NA	5	7	11
Not sure.....	10	10	12	9	14	29	14	9	6

8. Which one of the following two qualities is more important to you in determining your choice of a presidential candidate--the candidate's positions on the issues, or the candidate's personal character and values?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>9/96+</u>	<u>6/96+</u>	
Positions on the issues.....	52	65	65	[166]
Personal character and values.....	27	27	25	
Some of both (VOL).....	19	NA	NA	
Neither/other (VOL).....	-	4	5	
Not sure.....	2	4	5	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 9a. If the next election for president were held today, and Al Gore were running as the Democratic candidate and Elizabeth Dole were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>1/99</u>	
Al Gore.....	40	39	38	[167]
Elizabeth Dole.....	45	48	47	
Neither/other (VOL).....	7	7	8	
Not sure.....	8	6	7	

- 9b. If the next election for president were held today, and Al Gore were running as the Democratic candidate and George W. Bush were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>10/98+</u>	<u>9/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>9/97</u>	<u>4/98</u>	<u>7/97</u>	
Al Gore.....	35	34	40	40	39	41	45	41	45	[168]
George W. Bush.....	53	52	50	48	49	44	39	44	39	
Neither/other (VOL)...	5	4	5	5	5	5	8	5	8	
Not sure.....	7	10	5	7	7	10	8	10	8	

+ Asked only of registered voters.

- 9c. If the next election for president were held today, and Al Gore were running as the Democratic candidate and Dan Quayle were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

Al Gore.....	52	[169]
Dan Quayle.....	29	
Neither/other (VOL).....	12	
Not sure.....	7	

- 10a. Regardless of how you may be voting in the next election, I'd like you to tell me which ONE of the following qualities, if any, you think is Al Gore's biggest strength. *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

His honesty and integrity.....	19	[170]
His positions on the major issues.....	14	
His understanding of average people.....	14	
His leadership ability and experience.....	13	
His association with President Clinton.....	10	
His personality.....	5	
None.....	16	
All (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 10b. I'm going to read you the same list of qualities and this time I'd like you to tell me, regardless of how you may be voting in the next election for president, which ONE, if any, you think is Al Gore's biggest weakness. *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

His association with President Clinton.....	33	[171]
His personality.....	14	
His leadership ability and experience.....	12	
His positions on the major issues.....	9	
His understanding of average people.....	8	
His honesty and integrity.....	6	
None.....	5	
All (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	10	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Now I would like to ask you some questions about the situation involving Serbia and Kosovo.

- 11a. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the current situation involving Serbia and Kosovo?

	4/17- 19/99	4/5/99	
Approve.....	52	54	[172]
Disapprove.....	37	35	
Not sure.....	11	11	

- 11b. Do you approve or disapprove of the United States and NATO conducting military air strikes against Serbian targets?

	4/17- 19/99	4/5/99	
Approve.....	60	64	[173]
Disapprove.....	32	27	
Not sure.....	8	9	

- 12a. Do you think that military air strikes against Serbia will be enough to bring about a resolution to the conflict in Kosovo, or do you think that the U.S. will have to send in ground troops to achieve our objectives?

Military air strikes will be enough..... 14 [174]

Will have to send in ground troops.....	71
Neither/other (VOL).....	7
Not sure.....	8

- 12b. Do you think that President Clinton should or should not be required to receive approval from Congress before sending ground troops to Kosovo? *

Should be required to receive approval.....	80	[175]
Should not be required to receive approval.....	16	
Depends (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	2	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

13. Do you think that the U.S. and its NATO allies did or did not misjudge the ability of President Milosevic and the Serb military to withstand air strikes? **

Misjudged ability to withstand air strikes.....	66	[176]
Did not misjudge ability to withstand air strikes...	22	
Not sure.....	12	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

- 14a. Do you think that the U.S. and NATO should pause the bombing and try to negotiate a settlement with Serbia, or do you think that the U.S. and NATO should continue the bombing and not negotiate until Serbia withdraws its troops from Kosovo?

Should pause bombing and try to negotiate.....	38	[177]
Should continue bombing and wait until Serbia withdraws troops....	52	
Neither/other (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	6	

- 14aa. In your opinion, would you say that the NATO actions in Kosovo are going well, going badly, or have produced mixed results? +

Going well.....	14
Going badly.....	17
Mixed results.....	64
Not sure.....	5

+ Asked only on April 18-19.

- 14b. Do you think that the U.S. and NATO will or will not be able to resolve the conflict in Kosovo as long as Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic is in power? **

Will be able to resolve conflict while Milosevic in power.....	25	[178]
Will not be able to resolve conflict while Milosevic in power.....	60	
Not sure.....	15	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

15. How much longer do you think that the United States' and NATO's military action in Serbia will last?

Less than 1 month.....	5	[179]
1 to 2 months.....	14	
3 to 6 months.....	22	
Between 6 months and one year.....	19	
More than one year.....	20	
Not sure.....	20	

16. With respect to the United States' military involvement in Serbia, do you think that the U.S. should (a) step up its military actions, (b) scale back its military actions, or (c) maintain its current level of military actions?

	<u>4/17- 19/99</u>	<u>4/5/99</u>	
A/step up military actions.....	39	37	[180]
B/scale back military actions.....	17	19	
C/maintain current level of military actions.....	35	35	
Depends (VOL).....	3	3	
Not sure.....	6	6	

17a. Would you favor or oppose having U.S. ground troops in Serbia for more than a year if it was necessary to achieve U.S. objectives? **

Favor.....	39	[208]
Oppose.....	54	
Not sure.....	7	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

17b. Which one of the following should be the most important objective of United States and NATO military action against Serbia? *

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Removing Slobodan Milosevic from power.....	36	[209]
Stopping Serb atrocities and ending Serb efforts to drive ethnic Albanians from Kosovo.....	22	
Returning Kosovar refugees to their homes in Kosovo accompanied by U.S. and NATO peacekeepers.....	16	
Getting Serb troops out of Kosovo.....	10	
All equally (VOL).....	10	
None (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

18. Which statement do you think best describes the situation in Kosovo?

Statement A: Some people have suggested that the situation in Kosovo is similar to Vietnam, in which the United States underestimated the forces and situation it faced, and was drawn deeper into a prolonged conflict

Statement B: Others have suggested that this is not similar to Vietnam because the United States is part of a peacekeeping force with NATO and that this conflict will not go on for years.

Statement A/situation is similar to Vietnam.....	34	[210]
Statement B/situation is not similar to Vietnam....	56	
Some of both (VOL).....	4	
Neither/other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	5	

19. From what you know, do you think that President Clinton has a long-range plan to resolve the situation in Kosovo, or do you think that President Clinton is reacting to events as they occur? *

Has a long-range plan.....	22	[211]
Is reacting to events as they occur.....	71	
Not sure.....	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

20a. Which one or two of the following best describes how you feel about the United States' actions in Serbia? (ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Hopeful.....	41	[212]
Uncertain.....	28	>
Disappointed.....	21	
Patriotic.....	13	
Angry.....	12	
Proud.....	11	
None/other (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

20b. Do you feel that it is or is not worth the financial cost of maintaining U.S. involvement in Serbia? **

It is worth the cost.....	57	[213]
It is not worth the cost.....	35	
Not sure.....	8	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

21. How much confidence would you have in **(READ ITEM)** as commander in chief during this period of military action--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE PERCENTAGE WHO SAY GREAT DEAL OR QUITE A BIT OF CONFIDENCE

	<u>A Great Deal Of Confidence</u>	<u>Quite A Bit Of Confidence</u>	<u>Just Some Confidence</u>	<u>Very Little Confidence</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
George W. Bush *.....	19	24	29	16	12	[215]
Elizabeth Dole **.....	10	18	31	31	10	[217]
John McCain *.....	12	14	16	12	46	[216]
Bill Bradley **.....	8	18	29	16	29	[218]
Al Gore *.....	11	10	32	40	7	[214]
Dan Quayle **.....	4	13	26	49	8	[219]

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

22. Generally speaking, do you think that the United States military is or is not as strong as it needs to be to ensure our national defense and protect our national interests around the world? *

Military is as strong as it needs to be.....	52	[220]
Military is not as strong as it needs to be.....	45	
Not sure.....	3	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 23a. How important is NATO, the security alliance between the U.S. and Europe--very important, fairly important, just somewhat important, or not that important? *

Very important.....	63	[221]
Fairly important.....	14	
Just somewhat important.....	13	
Not that important.....	8	
Not sure.....	2	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 23b. As you may know, NATO is the security alliance between the U.S. and Europe. In conflicts in Europe, such as the one in Kosovo, do you think that the European governments should take full responsibility to help resolve the conflicts or do you think that the U.S. should take some responsibility? **

Europeans should take full responsibility	27	[222]
U.S. should take some responsibility.....	65	
Not sure.....	8	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

23c. Which do you think has the strongest economy right now--Europe, the United States, or Asia? **

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

The United States.....	80	[223]
Europe.....	7	
Asia.....	6	
All equally strong (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	6	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

24a. As you may know, there are allegations that the Chinese government stole classified military secrets from U.S. atomic bomb plants. If these allegations are true, do you think that this poses a major threat, a minor threat, or not much of a threat at all to U.S. national security? **

A major threat.....	49	[224]
A minor threat.....	33	
Not much of a threat at all.....	13	
Not sure.....	5	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

24b. From what you know, do you think that the Clinton Administration's response to the allegations of spying by the Chinese government has been too tough, about right, or not tough enough? **

Response is too tough.....	2	[225]
Response is about right.....	32	
Response is not tough enough.....	51	
Not sure.....	15	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

24c. As you may know, the World Trade Organization, or WTO, is the world's leading trade organization that helps to resolve trade disputes among member nations. From what you know, do you think that China's becoming a member of the WTO would have a major impact, minor impact, or no impact at all on the U.S. economy? *

Would have major impact.....	60	[226]
Would have minor impact.....	26	
Would have no impact at all.....	5	
Not sure.....	9	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

Now I would like to ask you some questions about Medicare and Social Security.

25a. Looking ahead, how would you describe the financial condition of Medicare--would you say that it is basically secure and solid, faces minor troubles, faces major troubles, or faces a crisis?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99</u>	
Basically secure and solid.....	6	5	[227]
Faces minor troubles.....	32	31	
Faces major troubles.....	39	38	
Faces a crisis.....	17	16	
Not sure.....	6	10	

25b. How important is it to reform the Medicare program to ensure that it will provide benefits for future generations of retirees--vitally important, extremely important, quite important, not that important, not important at all?

Vitally important.....	43	[228]
Extremely important.....	38	
Quite important.....	15	
Not that important.....	2	
Not important at all.....	1	
Not sure.....	1	

- 25c. There is a proposal to change the Medicare program from the current system of paying medical bills according to a schedule of covered medical items, and instead giving patients a fixed amount of money each year to buy health insurance. Do you favor or oppose this proposal to change Medicare?

Favor.....	35	[229]
Oppose.....	48	
Not sure.....	17	

- 25d. As you may know, the federal government now has a budget surplus. Do you think that there are or are not sufficient funds to have an across-the-board tax cut and still reserve enough money to preserve Social Security?

Yes, there are sufficient funds.....	37	[230]
No, there are not sufficient funds.....	47	
Depends (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	12	

Now, turning to another subject. . .

- 26a. Thinking ahead to a year from now, do you think that the value of the stock market will be much higher, somewhat higher, about the same, somewhat lower, or much lower than it is today?

	<u>4/99*</u>	<u>1/99</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>12/97</u>	
Much higher.....	7	5	6	7	[231]
Somewhat higher.....	26	27	30	31	
About the same.....	35	35	32	35	
Somewhat lower.....	17	16	19	15	
Much lower.....	7	6	7	4	
Not sure.....	8	11	6	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

- 26b. Do you think that the benefits of the increase in value of the stock market have made most Americans better off, or do you think that the benefits have mostly gone to the well-to-do? **

Have made most Americans better off.....	33	[232]
Benefits have gone mostly to the well-to-do.....	56	
Some of both (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	8	

** Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

27a. Do you have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks?

	<u>4/99</u>	<u>3/99¹</u>	<u>12/98</u>	<u>7/98</u>	<u>4/98</u>	
Yes, have at least \$5000 invested.....	53	52	52	56	48	[233]
No, do not have at least \$5000 invested.....	45	43	45	41	49	
Not sure.....	2	5	3	3	3	

¹ Prior to April 1999, respondents were asked if the description "Have at least five thousand dollars invested in mutual funds or stocks" applies to them, does not apply to them, or are not sure.

(ASK ONLY OF THOSE RESPONDENTS WHO SAY "HAVE AT LEAST \$5000 INVESTED IN MUTUAL FUNDS OR STOCKS" IN Q.27a.)

27b. Which one of the following is the most important reason you invest money in mutual funds or stocks.

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

Saving for your retirement.....	76	[234]
Saving for your children's or grandchildren's education.....	14	
Saving for a new home.....	1	
Saving for vacation and travel.....	1	
None/other (VOL).....	5	
All (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	-	

28a. Thinking about your economic situation today, on which of the following do you place a higher priority-- setting aside money for savings or making needed major purchases now?

Setting aside money for savings.....	68	[235]
Making needed major purchases now.....	21	
Other (VOL).....	2	
Both (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	3	

28b. Which statement comes closest to representing your point of view?

Statement A: Tax breaks for IRAs and similar retirement programs encourage people like me to save more

Statement B: Tax breaks for IRAs and similar retirement programs don't have much effect on the amount that people like me save.

Statement A/encourage me to save more.....	54	[236]
Statement B/don't have much effect on the amount I save...	37	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	6	

29. Do you approve or disapprove of the idea of passing new laws to make it easier for people to carry concealed weapons?

Approve.....	22	[237]
Disapprove.....	73	
Not sure.....	5	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. How old are you? **(IF REFUSED, ASK:)** Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18 - 24.....	9	[238-239]
25 - 29.....	8	
30 - 34.....	11	
35 - 39.....	10	
40 - 44.....	11	
45 - 49.....	10	
50 - 54.....	8	
55 - 59.....	8	
60 - 64.....	5	
65 - 74.....	17	
Refused/not sure.....	3	

F2. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	1	[240-241]
Some high school.....	6	
High school graduate.....	30	
Some college, no degree.....	19	
Vocational training/2-year college.....	9	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	18	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years postgraduate work/master's degree...	10	
Doctoral/law degree.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F3. Are you currently employed? **(IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** What type of work do you do? **(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:)** Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work?

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/manager.....	22	[242-243]
White collar worker.....	21	
Blue collar worker.....	21	
Farmer.....	-	
<u>Not Currently Employed</u>		
Student.....	3	
Homemaker.....	8	
Retiree.....	21	
Unemployed.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

- F4. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think that your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	7	[250]
Somewhat liberal.....	17	
Moderate.....	27	
Somewhat conservative.....	24	
Very conservative.....	11	
Views cannot be described in those terms.....	12	
Not sure.....	2	

- F5. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered.....	83	[251]
Not registered.....	15	
Not sure.....	2	

- F6. Are you currently single and never married, married, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Single.....	22	[252]
Married.....	58	
Separated.....	2	
Widowed.....	6	
Divorced.....	10	
Other (VOL).....	-	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

- F7. Do you have any children under age 18 currently living in your household?

Yes, kids under 18 in household.....	35	[253]
No, no kids under 18 in household.....	64	
Not sure.....	1	

- F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	48	CONTINUE	[254]
Catholic.....	29		
Jewish.....	3		
Other.....	13	Skip to Q.F10	
None.....	4		
Not sure/refused.....	3		

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F8.)

- F9. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/evangelical.....	16	[255]
Neither fundamentalist nor evangelical.....	28	
Not sure.....	4	
Non-Protestants (Q.F8).....	52	

- F10. Are you a member of a labor union? **(IF "NO," ASK:)** Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	9	[256]
Labor union household.....	6	
Nonunion household.....	83	

Not sure..... 2

F11. Do you, or does anyone in your household, own a gun of any kind?

Yes, gun in household.....	42	[257]
No, no gun in household.....	55	
Not sure.....	3	

F12. Are you from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background? (IF NO:) What is your race -- white, black, Asian, or something else?

Hispanic.....	6	[258]
White.....	78	
Black.....	10	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F13. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, between \$75,000 and \$100,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	4	[259]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	9	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	14	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	12	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	11	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	18	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000.....	9	
More than \$100,000.....	11	
Not sure/refused.....	12	